1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

being ignorant of rennet, use instead the sap squeezed from the ends of fig branches. They claim that this fresh juice will solidify milk.

Intoxicants and Narcotics. *sammet*, grape jelly. An intensive manufacture of grape jelly is carried on in the central Rif and in the Senhaja Sghir, by means of boiling pressed grape juice until it has reached a viscous state. Such of this jelly as has been subjected to a relatively short period of boiling is alcoholic. *Sammet* is put away in jars for winter consumption and is regarded as a delicacy. Distribution is throughout the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil and Beni Mesduy, Mountain Urriaghel, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, and Beni Amart. In Beni Amart it is not made, on account of the absence of grapes, but is imported from Beni Urriaghel and extensively eaten. None of the other tribes who do not make it ever eat it.

Wine-making, which Marmol[1] attributed to the Riffians, is not at present practised except by a few Riffians who have learned the process in Algeria. I was unable to find any tradition of its former manufacture or use. It is, however, made in the Beni Zerwal, a Jeballan tribe a very short distance from our area. Here it is called *khamr*, the Classical Arabic word for wine. It is possible that the Riffians formerly made wine and then gave up the practice. It is likewise possible that they adopted it from first-wave Arabs, whence the Zerwali word, and then gave it up. The Arabs, in the early days of the Caliphate, were not all total abstainers.[2] On the other hand it is hard to imagine a Mediterranean country where grape culture is well organized which was ignorant of wine before the introduction of Islam.

kif, a narcotic, is the ordinary *Cannabis indicus*, a hemp grown in many parts of North Africa as a drug. Although not cultivated in the Rif it is extensively grown in the Ghomara and Western Arabophone Senhaja, as well as throughout the other mountain tribes of northwestern Morocco. Two different parts of the plant are used for smoking, the leaf and the flower, of which the latter is by far the more potent. With it is smoked a harsh variety of tobacco, also grown locally. The mixture is smoked in a small-bowled clay pipe with a wooden stem. (See plate 14.) *Kif* is grown and used in the Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ktama. Of recent years its use has been spreading eastward, until at present it is commonly used in Taghzuth and other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir. It has not yet become common in the Rif proper, although single individuals, usually travelling hawkers, smoke it secretly.

hashisha. In the Beni Bu Nsar, Ktama, and other tribes in which *sammet* is made and eaten, hemp has been converted into a novel use. It is made into a paste and eaten. In this way an effect greater even than that obtained by smoking it results. Whereas *kif*-smoking is not often indulged in by women, members of that sex eat *hashisha* as freely as do their husbands. The eastward diffusion of these two traits of hemp-using seem to be accompanied by the correlated diffusion of a degradation of woman and by the practice of sodomy. *Hashisha* is distributed as is *kif*, but is also found in Beni Bu Nsar.

Riffian Table Manners. When a Riffian family eats alone, the women and children sit with the men and eat with them. Intimate guests are allowed to eat with the family. When, however, guests of distinction or guests who are not intimately acquainted with the

[1] Chaps. 62, 70, 79, 86–88.

[2] Sir William Muir, *The Early Caliphate*, pp. 143, 184, 207 *sqq.*, 316, 386, 423, 431, 467, 473, 488 *sqq.*, 507 n., 570, 601.

778 A charm from the Koran, called kiraha, karaha, or korh, "hatred"
755 or "destestation", is written for the purpose of curing a person of some particular vice from which he is suffering, such as drunkenness or
[276] libidinousness or the habit of smoking Indian hemp (kif). This charm is hung on him, and in addition some fowl's dung is secretly mixed into his food so as to make the object of his evil desire—drink, women, or kif—as distasteful to him as is the dung (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[214] A simpler method adopted for the same purpose is to ask the schoolmaster to write a charm from the Koran, which is put into a little case of leather or calico and hung round the neck of the boy (Ait Waryager).

784 [223] In various places it is considered bad to give yeast (Garbiya, Hiaina, Ait Waryager) or salt (Garbiya, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) out of the house or tent after asar or sunset.

[224] The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and the Shlöh of Aglu consider it very dangerous to cut down trees on a Friday. In many parts
[224] of the country hunting is then abstained from (Fez, Mogador, Ulad
[153] Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Igliwa, Aglu); a Berber from Glawi told me of a man who killed five pigeons with one shot on a Friday, and became blind at the same moment.

841 [232] In Andjra the women should be clean when they milk the
778 cows, sheep, or goats; if an animal is milked by a menstruating woman it will become diseased. Among the Ait Waryager, on the other hand, a menstruous woman is allowed to milk an animal, but not a woman who has refrained from washing after she has had connection with her husband. In the same tribe it is held that if an unclean person goes among the sheep they will die, because they are holy animals and in consequence easily hurt by defilement.

784 The horse, which is such a holy animal, must be well guarded
834 against pollution. It seems to be a universal belief in Morocco that
778 if a person who is sexually unclean rides a horse some evil will happen to him: he will tumble down, or be late in arriving at his destination, or will not succeed in his business, or will have boils, or become ill or die.

[233] Some people even say that the mule, though not a holy animal, will get sores if ridden by an unclean individual, whereas nothing will happen to the rider (Andjra, Ait Waryager). When a person gives barley to a horse, mule, or donkey, he should be clean,

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

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AN 'IMĀRAH IN THE CENTRAL RIF: THE ANNUAL PILGRIMAGE TO SĪDĪ BŪ KHIYĀR

ANNUAL pilgrimages, or *'imārāt* (sing. *'imārah*), to the tombs of certain saints are a major feature not only of the saint cult in Morocco, but of Maghribi Islam in general. A few of these, such as the *Naskhah*, occurring on 15 Sha'bān, to the shrine of Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām ibn Mshīsh in Banī 'Arūs in the Jbālah, or the visits to the sepulchres of Mūlāi Idrīs in Zarhūn or Sīdī Muḥammad ibn 'Aisā in Meknes, are events to which the faithful gather from all over the country. Seven successive pilgrimages to the tombs both of Mūlāi Idrīs and Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām equal, according to Moroccans, one to Mecca. The pilgrimage in these instances is supplemented by the activities of members of, variously, the Haddāwa (at Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām), 'Aisāwa or Ḥamādsha (in Meknes) brotherhoods, who smoke *kīf* (*Cannabis indica*, a narcotic not unlike marijuana), beat drums, chew and swallow live coals, put skewers through their cheeks and work themselves into a frenzy in order to identify themselves with the spirit of the saint with whose tomb they are associated; and, if possible, to merge with the Infinite.

There are many other saints, however, mostly of a more local and less national character, whose devotees show far more restraint in their behavior than the members of the brotherhoods mentioned above. One of these is Sīdī Bū Khiyār, buried in the southern mountains of the Central Rifian tribe of Aith Wariyāghir; and nothing like the above occurs at the annual pilgrimage to his tomb, for the members of these orders are held in very low repute in the Rif and are not encouraged to come there. A description of this pilgrimage, wich I witnessed on 1 August 1955, is, I think, of ethnographic interest not only for its own sake but because of the light it sheds on the Berber attitude toward Islam.

443 651 438 648 [735] [276] such items if they are purchased by the large middlemen merchants who pay the tax upon leaving the suq. Because of governmental tax and conservation laws, carbon is rarely sold in the free market but rather in the black market. The narcotic kif, which undoubtedly is a major trade item, also is in the province of the black marketeer. Missing from Albéniz's list are almonds, which have become an increasingly important cash crop. Almonds enter the market free in small lots, are bought by large-scale merchants and taxed upon departing from the market.

443 After paying his tax, the seller enters the market and goes to the area occupied by traders of his particular commodity. There are no market rules demanding that a seller go to a special place but areas have by custom been developed for each type of goods. Those people selling an unusual commodity or unique service set up shop wherever they desire as long as it does not interfere with the operation of the market.

443 438 In the following I shall outline the sorts of commodities brought to the market and the categories of people involved in marketing them. The composition of the agricultural products varies greatly with the season. Tomatoes, green peppers, and other vegetables are available only in the summer and early fall. For a short period during the fall, fruit is in overabundance. Potatoes, maize, garlic, and onions appear throughout the year, though again the supply varies. There are always large stacks of unmilled barley even though this is supposed to be the main crop of the region. That the fellah have to buy barley on